342 Powers, described by Kroeber, and presumably the one meant by Estudillo with his phrase "dobladas sus puntas" was declared unfamiliar by both informants.[31] The conical house was not used here.

The house with oval floor plan and with walls arched into a rounded top was the most common type of dwelling in the valley area generally, according to J.A. and M.G. (fig. 1,a). Two forked posts linked by a tie-beam formed the basis of this structure. Upright poles of willow were set into the ground in an oval line around the center posts and the tips pulled inward and downward and tied to the center beam. Strengthening horizontal withes were tied around this framework. Large mats of tule were hung on the frame and pegged down to the ground. A slot was left along the center beam for the smoke to escape.

The tule mats which covered the frame were about 8 feet high and 10 to 12 feet long; their height roughly equaled the distance from the ground to the center beam. Truly rectangular mats were made by laying the tules alternately tip by butt to equalize the differences in their tip and butt diameters; such mats were used on side walls. For the rounded ends of
342 the house somewhat fan-shaped mats were made by
285 placing the tules butt by butt, thus giving a greater width at the base of the mat than at the top. Men gathered the tules, whereas women made the mats. The reeds, already sorted by size and length, were laid out on the ground. The
[284] individual stalks were held together by rows of single cords of milkweed twine looped once around each stem (a half-hitch may have been meant). The rows of binding cord were a hand-span (about 9 in.) apart. All the rows were worked forward at once rather than completed one at a time.

342 Technically, the long house was really an extension of the oval frame. There was a series of forked center posts supporting a continuous ridgepole formed by overlapping and lashing its units. The overlap did not have to coincide with an upright. Willow withes held the side poles, which were bent toward the center at their tips and were matched by a parallel withe on the exterior which held the tule mat covering in place; both withes were called tumlu''us. Smoke escaped through a long slot left at the ridgepole. The long communal
[592] house was partitioned by means of mats.
[354] Sections of the house were apportioned to sons' families, each family having its own fireplace, and, if the house were large, its own door. Such a house was "just like a street, you could look right down the middle and see everybody's fire and what they were doing" (J.A.). The long house was covered with tule mats (woi ʻyohono; tule-covered house: woi ʻyohon ṭi).

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[31] Powers, 370; Kroeber, Handbook, 521; Gayton, Estudillo, 83.

221 166 621 the families in Dispnuša would move within about two weeks of each other. They went in groups: some were related families, others just bound by friendship. Infirm people did [888] not go, being left with food and occasionally visited. The summer encampment lasted until late summer or early fall (wusa´o), the villagers returning in time to prepare for the Annual Mourning Ceremony. Following on that was the season of acorn gathering.

J.B.'s family went with a group of other [131] families to Šiye´du, a seed-gathering camp near the present site of Moffett (no. 39), a distance of about four miles. It was near Yokod [312] territory. The original source of the water there now, unless a spring, was not known to J.B., for even in his childhood an irrigation ditch flowed near by. Referring to their own [342] house there, J.B. said his "father put up the frame while [his] mother made and tied on the grass skirt. No one helped with this; everybody made his own house." Necessary and [412] valuable belongings were taken along. The women of the camp kept mortars buried there as no bedrock was available.

342 There were six houses at Šiyedu, all of 592 the conical, grass-thatched type, of sound con- 621 struction so that they were merely repaired from year to year. Two of them later were permanently occupied by Yaudanchi men who worked on a neighboring ranch [Hanson's?]. There was no special arrangement in the location of the dwellings.

The house occupants were:

1. The chief, Muṭoñi (J.B.'s father's sister's husband); Waohət (Muṭoñi's daughter) and her husband Ya´ni (J.B.'s half-brother through marriage [does he mean brother-in-law because it is a cousin's husband ?]). Yani and Waohət later lived there permanently.
2. The winatum, Pokoi (J.B.'s father), his wife Mo´muč (J.B.'s mother), To´p:no (J.B. himself), and Kiwi´ya (J.B.'s half-brother) "when he wasn't working."
3. Ka´oses (J.B.'s mother's sister's son) and his wife Po'o´tso (a Yaudanchi, Čamčusan's daughter). They had no children.
4. Pono´to (Bill Garfield), his wife Huisa´na, and their son Wi´aleče (Sam Garfield). Other children not known to J.B. These people were not related to any of the families mentioned above.
5. It:mwi´'iyu (a Wukchumni-Patwisha) and his Patwisha wife (name not recalled).
6. Wati´sti (a Bankalachi shaman), his mother Poi´'i:n[142] (also Bankalachi), his Yaudanchi wife (name not recalled), and her son Čamu´ma (Charlie, of a Yaudanchi father).

J.B. said that for all there were only these six families at Šiyedu in his youth, in his father's time there were many, many more.

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[142] Consistently pronounced Bo´wiyan by J.B.

756 It is to be noted that the infamous shaman Watisti and his mother were among those at Šiyedu. J.B. said "they danced the kam [watiyod] there whenever they wanted to make [535] money or the tia'a asked them to." Bill Garfield sang for them. (See "Pleasure Dances" for an account of this entertainment.) No other dance or ritual was ever given at summer camps. J.B. said that they all returned to Diapnuša for the big mourning ceremony, that there visitors could be accommodated and the location was secluded from encroaching whites. [177] Even in J.B.'s time at Šiyedu "there was no place to pasture horses; all the land was taken up by whites."

621 Of the village of Hoganu, J.B. could re-
592 call only three families. The chief there was Bise´ti, who was Muṭoñi's son by a woman named Uyu´tskulu. He later married M.L. but the couple continued to live with Biseti's mother because "his father had gone to live with another woman." In another house lived an old man named Ču and his Wukchumni-Patwisha wife, Šu´pač.

A daughter of Mutoñi, Lottie, by yet another woman (a Waksachi and half-sister of B.O.; she had eagle poša like Muṭoñi) also lived at Hoganu. L. said that another named Gaču´na was a contemporary chief with Muṭoñi. The winatum at Hoganu was a Gawia named Wa´lai; his wife too was a winatum, a Yaudanchi named O´mo. L. said they had no children "because Omo ate too much meat." (L. herself moved up to Dunlap when she married an Entimbich; her second husband was a Pitanisha [Tübatulabal].)

In Antelope Valley lived a chief named Sodo´nto, who married J.P.'s grandmother. Another chief, Ke´w.č (John Davis) lived there, and in a third house were relatives of Jim Wilcox. This little hamlet was called Wo´kano. Later Walai moved out there; and this chief Sodonto may indeed be the chief Sodono who previously lived at Diapnuša.

At Gutsnumi M.L.'s mother, mother's sister, female parallel cousin (called elder sister), her older brother, and her maternal grandmother all lived in one house. When her father was alive, her parents, brother, and self lived in a house of their own. Her father's mother, father's brother, and father's sisters all [361] lived at Gutsnumi too, in various establishments. M.L. said that often "uncles, brothers, or cousins, would build their houses close together." M.L. said that they lived at Gutsnumi
166 during the winter, but in summer went on seed-
222 gathering trips towards the plains. They would
423 stop at Hoganu and Yokol. "Families did not have special places to hunt food, anyone went with anyone else just as they wished." [A slight exaggeration; M.L. herself said that women quarreled over their claims to berry and seed patches.] The Gawia did not care if the Wukchumni came down for seeds, and they would go up Wukchumni way for other kinds of seeds

[text continues on p. 59a]

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

342 meantime the cover, whether thatch or mat, was prepared by the wife and other female relatives who had a personal interest in the dwelling. The lower layers of covering were tied on by women, but the upper layers, which could be reached only by climbing on the frame, were fastened by the man.

342 592 The size of the house depended upon the needs of the family, that is, the number of persons in the household and the amount of entertaining to be done. A chief, though perhaps having a small family, would always have a large dwelling because he was frequently visited. If decrepit relatives crowded a home, a small house, which was often little more than a hovel, would be built for them near by. (The ancient mother-in-law of one informant was living in such circumstances.)

342 In the Central Foothill section houses with a conical framework predominated. A house of any type was called ţi', those covered with brush, ţi 'yao 'wːl (yao 'wːl, brush or tall grass), those covered with tule, pu 'muk (round tule). The name of the bark house was not obtained: Kroeber gives it as samish.[151] Among the Gawia and Yokod the tule-covered house predominated. The Wukchumni house was commonly brush- and grass-thatched, though tule was preferred when obtainable, as at Gutsnumi. For them, the bark house was rare, whereas the tule house was rare for the Patwisha, who used brush and bark coverings about equally. Kroeber states that the common Yaudanchi house, called te, had a conical framework and sewed tule mat covering, although the ridged house, with a fireplace and door at either end, was also known to them. They made use of a special species of tule called shuyo growing in the vicinity.[152]

The first step in building a house was outlining its circular area on the site selected. There is a difference of opinion among informants as to the hollowing of the floor: perhaps this feature varied with each builder's preference. Certainly the floor was never lowered more than a foot, but at least a slight cavity was made to brace the frame poles. For the conical house three oak poles were tied together near their tips and set up as a tripod. Two poles were closer to each other than to the third; these became the door frame, while the third was opposite, at the back of the house. Other poles were then leaned into the crotch at the apex; they were spaced 18 inches to 2 feet apart. The length of the poles depended upon the diameter of the house, which in the conical form was some 6 to 9 feet. The butts of [283] all poles were embedded in the ground at the edges of the floor cavity. They were held in place by horizontal bands of pliable willow bound on with ho'. The first was about a foot above the ground, others, of which there might

[151] Ibid., 522.

[152] Ibid.

131 7. šu´lmao: Charlie Drake's place
8. kapa´no: long hill lying northeast to
361 southwest on east side of valley
9. toi´yok: high peak northwest of no. 5
103 10. wiše´lao: hill between no. 5 and no.9
11. wo´nyu: village site on flat
12. to´po: hill south of no. 4
13. kiwe´yu
14. soiyo´´o
15. wai´yo: seed-gathering camp
16. busuta´o: a "bald" hill
17. ka´lpo: an isolated hill

Not definitely located: 18, did:´pča: a spring near Jeff Long's ranch; 19, opn:´nyu: a Chukaimina campsite on Pughe's ranch; 20, po'o´lo: a Chukaimina summer camp on Bill Curtis's: [?] place; 21, mašt:´nao: most important Chukaimina village.

● 592 The informant Mo. could recall only four houses and their inmates at Maštinao.

1. Mo.'s home; she lived there with her father and mother. She claimed her "brother and sister were already dead."
2. Mo.'s father's brother, Šo´´ok (Copperhead) lived alone. He had been married, for his son's daughter was mentioned as "Mike's wife."
3. Mo.'s father's sister, Meyu´lat, married Pu´lkos; their son was Pus:n:nwait (P.M.). [P.M. said his father was Toihitcha, a not contradictory statement.]
4. Mo.'s father's female cousin, Koi´yut, married a grandson of Pušl:l:n named Ai´jo (Jack); their daughter was Ai´n:k (Lillie).

BIRTH AND INFANCY

843 The following information was entirely from Mo.

She said there were no prenatal tabus for the expectant Chukaimina mother or father.

844 Birth took place in the house. The mother was assisted by her own mother, sister, grandmother or, if none of her own kin were near by, some of her husband's women relatives would help. There was no rule. The woman squatted over a depression in the floor, and the attendant caught the baby on a basket tray (čo´pai). The cord was cut with a cane knife (si´k:d) to about four inches in length; the end was turned back and tied with milkweed string. When the stump fell off, it "was made into a ball with beads" and hung on the hood of the second [789] cradle. After the child abandoned the cradle, the stump was put in an anthill so the child would become industrious.

846 A hot pit was prepared for the mother in her own house. A depression was filled with coals and hot ashes, then earth, then grass and mats laid over these. The mother remained on this for ten days but she rose every three or four hours for a renewal of the coals. For the

592 There were three to five persons in a house, J.R. continued, depending entirely on the number and condition of the family members. An average home consisted of a man and wife and their children. If there was an adult dependent, such as a sister or older relative, they would provide a separate little house for her close by. A widow and her children, or a widower and his, might also comprise a discrete household.

221 M. lived here at Picayune in a native-type house when she was a little girl. People moved around as the seed crops needed harvesting. They left their houses, light as they were, at home and made temporary shelters whenever necessary for camping. There were bedrock [412] mortars wherever they went, all around; most of these are filled in through disuse, now.

When a family permanently left a house, for no objectionable reason, another family [166] might move into it. People moved by families; whole villages did not move en masse.

Warfare

721 It was J.R.'s opinion that there was little intertribal warfare in the Fresno River 648 region.

The Indians did not fight each other unless drunk. The only way they killed other Indians was if a witch doctor killed lots of people: then they would kill this doctor.

A big bunch of Chukchansi wouldn't go out and fight a bunch of Mono. Maybe they would kill one man at Northfork [Western Mono locality]. This man maybe had not done right by some [726] Indians there. Maybe some Indian from Coarse Gold [Chukchansi] wouldn't like him. They would lie in wait for him along his way and shoot him from ambush. That is the only way they killed one another up here. A Chukchansi would kill another Chukchansi this same way.

[847] J.R. thought that an abnormal infant, a monster, might be killed, but he regarded this 727 as hearsay. A person who was mortally wounded was not put out of his agony: his relatives took care of him as best they could until he died.

726 An account of an engagement and the ensuing negotiations between Indians of Fresno River and the encroaching whites refers to the same encounter described by the Dumna, Bill Wilson, that of the Mariposa Battalion in 1851. At the time, J.R. was a baby in his basket; later his mother told him about it.[82]

The last fight was down here about ten miles, on the Fresno River. It was a long way up from Raymond. The Indians from all around

[82] J.R. probably had not yet been born.

583 to take N.W. away. N.W. said "she was scared but didn't-go."[123]

585 Something of a wedding ceremony took place in the form of the usual Yokuts feast. The groom's father [and presumably his male relatives] went hunting until they had a large quantity of meat. The bride's mother [and relatives ?] pounded acorn meal, cooked this and other seed foods. On the day of the celebration the groom's father brought the meat already cooked, and other gifts of beads and baskets, and in return received from the bride's mother the cooked meal and baskets. Then they all feasted, but each family ate in its own group. "Then the man would take the [591] girl to live with his mother." (J.R. said residence was matrilocal for the first year or two after marriage.)

592 When a girl married, she went to live in her husband's home: her mother-in-law came [591] after her. Thereafter the daughter-in-law was, so to say, the housekeeper in that family. Her mother-in-law devoted more time to making baskets and only occasionally assisted at pounding acorns or with other labors. The bride, if properly trained for her domestic tasks at home, was competent to assume her duties in her husband's household without directions from his mother. It was she, for example, who said when acorns were to be pounded, food gathered, and so on. When there were several daughters-in-law in one family they shared the work, but it was the young woman who had priority in marrying into the family who directed the others. The mother-in-law was always helpful, advised her daughter-in-law: "she was just like her own mother."

591 Concerning residence after marriage, there [184] was a difference of opinion; J.R. claimed that it was matrilocal. Perhaps this is a reflection of his Miwok background; perhaps both customs were followed by the Chukchansi as by other Yokuts. His information on marriage follows.

583 A girl lived with her mother, father, and old people, i.e., in the normal family group.
584 She would begin talking about how she would like a certain young man to come live with them. The youth's father then would bring gifts of baskets, beads, etc., [The intervening events, inferentially an understanding between the two young people, was not explained.] He would talk to the girl's mother, saying that they would like their son to live with her daughter. "That is all. They just offered some good baskets and got the girl."

591 The young man came to live with the girl in her home; they stayed there "a long time." Then perhaps they would move to live with the

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[123] The situation is not entirely clear. Evidently the suitor presented the gifts but did not reclaim them, or claim Nancy, until after she had married Mike. Yet it had been apparent from the outset that she would not accept his gifts or him.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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HOUSES.

342

The Yokuts built at least five kinds of dwellings.

1. Most distinctive was the mat-covered, gabled, communal *kotoi* of the Tulamni, Hometwoli, Wowol, Chunut, and perhaps Tachi. The roof pitch was steep. Probably each family constructed its own portion, with door to front and back, closed at night with tule mats. Each household had its own space and fireplace, but there were no partitions, and one could look through from end to end.

[362] [592]

[304 531]

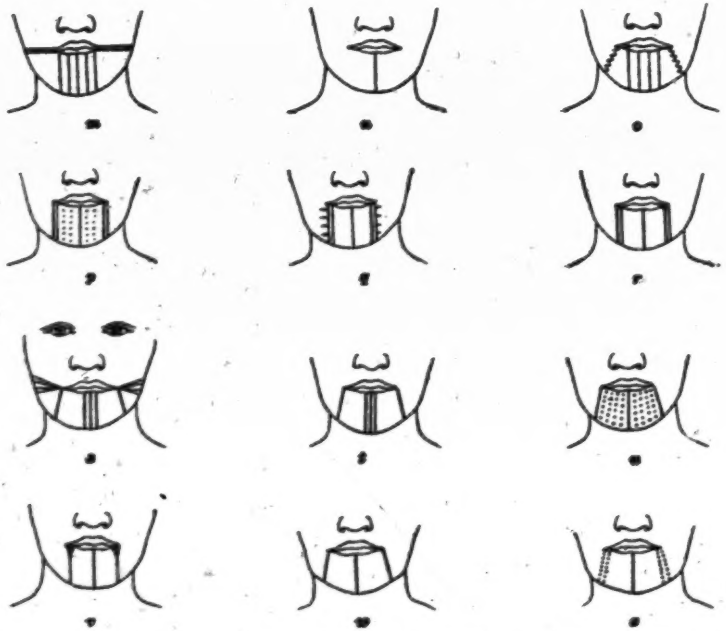

FIG. 46.—Women's and men's tattoo. Women: *a–o*, Chukchansi Yokuts; *p–s*, Mohave. Men: *p–s*, Mohave.

These houses sometimes ran to a size where they accommodated a little more than 10 families. A shade porch extended along the front. The tule stalks were sewn together with an eyed bone needle and string of tule fiber.

[412]

2. The Yauelmani and their neighbors of the southern plains off the lake approached this long structure in aligning their wedge-shaped tule houses or *dumlus*, but kept each contiguous family domicile separate.

3. The middle plains tribes, such as the Wechihit and Tachi, to-day build small tule houses of another type, elliptical or oblong

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

for probably ten or fifteen years before it had to be rebuilt. The rest of the houses were of a more temporary nature.

Surely the most striking of all Yokuts houses was the long, mat-covered, communal house called *Kawi*. This house was used by *Wowol, Chunut* and *Tachi* and probably by the *Tulamni, Tuhohi,* and *Hometwoli*. It sometimes reached a length of three hundred feet and looked from the exterior like a long, wedge-shaped tent.

In the communal house lived many families. We are told that in some instances the people of an entire village occupied one house. The house was built with a long ridge-pole supported by crotched posts and with a steep-pitched roof. On the sloping side poles, were left stubs of some of the small limbs. These served as hooks to support horizontal poles over which were thrown the tule mats. Such stubs were also left on the underside of the sloping poles, or rafters, and also on the center posts. Strings of dried acorns and of fish and meat and all manner of camp equipment were hung from these Indian clothes hangers. It is thought that each family constructed its own part of this house, with doors at both ends as well as along the sides. These doors could be closed at night with tule mats. Although there were no partitions in the house and one could look through from one end to the other, each family had its own space, its own door and its own fire place, and it was considered a breach of etiquette to walk lengthwise of the house through the portion occupied by another family.

Along the front of the house a shade was constructed. This shade is still used by many of the Yokuts Indians and is called *Ch'-iniu*. On the treeless plains and shores of Tulare Lake it was indispensable. Crotched poles were set in the ground at regular intervals. Other poles were laid across them and tule mats were unrolled on top of the cross poles. Near streams a covering of willow brush was used, instead of tule mats. It was this tule mat and light framework house that the *Tachi, Nutunutu, Wowol,* and *Chunut* dismantled, rolled up quickly and placed on their large tule rafts when river-swollen, or wind-swept Tulare Lake flooded their camp sites.

It is unfortunate that more details have not been preserved concerning the long, wedge-shaped house. Life under conditions which existed in such a dwelling must have been complicated, to say the least. Each family was in close contact with the neighboring families and there was practically no privacy for anyone in the tribe.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 a piece of green oak limb bent round like a ring. You could never see these houses in the tules until you came right to them.
342 The worst thing about the tumlus house was the lake. They always were close to the water and the ground was wet.
[36] When the wind blew, the lake water would come into them.

Once I went with my mother to *Chaw-lo'-win,* on Atwell's Island where Alpaugh is now. I was about ten years old. While we were there we lived in a tumlus house. I did not like it. When we did not have a fire the mosquitoes came in so thick you could not see the smoke hole.

One night when we were all asleep, the north wind began to blow. Nobody waked up until the water began to come into the house. We got out as fast as we could, but the water was up to my knees before we left the house.

I was at Alpaugh a long time afterward and I think the houses were almost where the town is now. They were on the north edge of the sand ridge. The old-time regular village was
[36] farther south on the south side of the sand ridge where White River came in.

When we were in the tumlus houses it was all tules right down to the water. We had just narrow trails through the high tules. The lake was high then after the sixty-two [1862] high water. It was before the sixty-eight [1868] high water. I remember this. I know both high waters.

There were ten or twelve houses where we stayed. A few
[36] of my mother's people had gone back there to live. They thought they could stay there. But the white people already had hogs there and the Indians had to leave as soon as the water went down a little.

159 The regular house that the Chunut and *Wowol* (Wo'wol)
342 had was called *Che.* It was a long tule house. It was made so
592 they could take it down quick. I lived in one of the long tule houses two or three years on Kings river near the Ezra ranch. They were a good house. They were cool in summer. You could open them up in a minute and get the cool breeze. In the cold weather they had lots of fires inside to keep them warm.

Eight or ten families lived in the Che, tule house. It was like a long tent. They had no partitions. It was open inside all the way along. There were fires all along the middle. When they were all roasting ducks or fish in the winter, the house would be full of smoke. It was nice to live in a house like that. If you did not like some family you lived in the other part of

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

the house. You generally lived by your grandmother or by your good friends. 159 342

The tule house had a row of posts down the middle. They had forks at the tops. On top of the posts we put long poles. Then we leaned poles against the long poles at the sides. On top we put long tule mats. We made the mats nice and smooth. The tules ran up and down. We tied them together with tules. We could roll them up like a rug. They kept the water out good. 592

Inside the Che we kept everything—acorns, dried *sah'-pahl* (jack rabbit) and *i-ke' em* (elk) and *suey'-yohl* (antelope) and *lo-pits* (fish). We hung all of these on the poles. 159 251 262

We dried lots of *mah-mil* (blackberries) and *saw-ha'-mik* (mushrooms) too, and put them in baskets. We had lots of seeds in baskets. The house was full of things to eat. We always had plenty.

The Chunut and Wowol cooked the white-shelled lake clams in large bunches like you call a clam-bake. They called the clam *trah'-sheep* and the clam-bake *hah-pots'-ahk*. First they put on the ground a layer of tules four or five inches thick. Then they put the clams on top, with the open edges down as thick as they could, so they would not roll over. They piled tules on top of the clams. Then they set fire to them. When the tules burned, the water ran out of the clams and steamed them so they cooked nice. My people ate lots of them that way. They were good with salt from salt grass. Sometimes they baked lots of fires of them. 159 252 262

We gathered lots of salt from salt grass. Lots of Indians used to get their salt at a place about three miles north of Guernsey. I have gathered salt there lots of times. The salt comes on the leaves of the grass in little round pieces. We gathered the grass in the afternoon when it was damp and stacked it in big piles. After dinner we put the grass on an elk skin and hit it with sticks. The dry salt fell off and we threw the grass away. It made a good salt. We called it *ahlet* (ah'-leet). 159 222 263

We made another salt by burning a different salt weed. We called it *tiit* (tih'-it). It was not as good as ahlet.

The old-time Chunut Indians did not use much acorn mush. They used more tule roots. They did not have to take the bitter out of the tule roots. They ate some of the tender roots raw and pounded up the old roots. 159 252 262

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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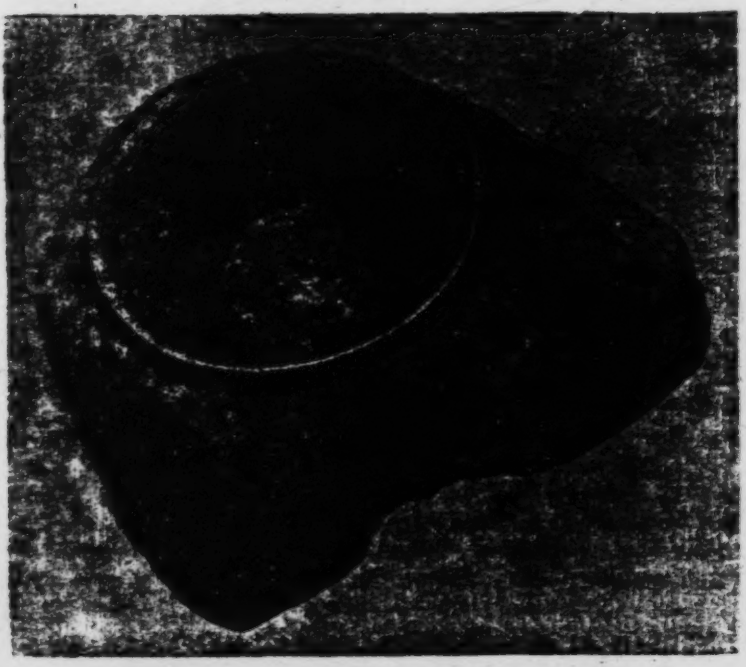

A Wuhchumnee Yokuts wooden mortar with basket hopper.

159
251 The valley acorns would not keep very well. We could not store them in granaries like we did the mountain acorns. We had to take off the hulls as soon as we gathered them. Then we drilled holes in them and put them on strings. We hung the strings of acorns in the house. We thought that it was the smoke that kept the worms from eating them.

159
412 My people used some rock mortars to pound seeds in, but they used lots of wooden mortars, too. My mother had a big wooden mortar when I was a little girl.

When an oak tree would fall down the Chunut women would take the bark off of the trunk and make mortars in the top of it. They used coals to burn holes in it. I remember lots of trees with three or four mortars in them. The women would sit on the tree trunk and pound acorns and seeds.

159
342 In the long tule house each family had its own door. You could not go through the next place unless you knew it was all

592

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

right. We just opened the tule mats for a door. We did not have a round smoke hole in the long house. The tule mats did not reach to the top. If we wanted more room for the smoke to go out, we put a stick between the tule mats at the top.

In the Indian houses we nearly always slept along the side with our feet to the fire. To sleep sidewise to the fire we called *yot'-sahn*. We dug a hole in the ground and filled it with loose tules. Then we covered them with two or three tule mats. That made a nice mattress.

For bed covers we used lots of things. The best bed cover was rabbit skin blankets. They were soft and warm. Nearly everybody had one or two. They were about as big as the blankets you white people use. We made the rabbit skin blankets out of strips of skin. When we took the skin off of the rabbit we cut it around and around in a long strip. We twisted it so all of the fur was on the outside. We twisted the rabbit skin strips into a double string as long as we wanted the blanket. Then we sewed it back and forth from one end to the other until it was a big blanket. We made blankets the same way of mud hen skins.

We had elk and deer skins on our beds, too. Some people had bear skins, too, for bed covers. But not many had that. I knew an Indian doctor who had a mountain lion skin on his bed. He bought it from a *Wukchumne* Indian from Lemon Cove.

The old-time Indian men wore a deerskin breech-clout called *trah'-keet mu-num'-hoey*. It was held up by a narrow deerskin belt called *wuh'-suk* (string). A little piece of the breech clout hung down like an apron in front. Some of the men painted colored pictures on it. I only saw one or two of the old-time breech clouts. That was when I was a little girl. After that the Indians all wore old underwear or a piece of old cloth for a breech clout.

The Indian women wore a small skirt. It was made in two pieces. They had a small apron in front and a larger one behind. They were held up by a string like a belt. It tied at the side. We called the woman's skirt *ah'-til ra'-es*. It was generally made of the inside bark of cottonwood, or of tule. Some times they used strings of twisted rabbit, or mud hen skin. They liked the twisted rabbit skin skirts best.

The Chunut and Wowol women wore a cape, too. It was made of twisted rabbit skin, or mud-hen skin strings like a small blanket. They used the wing feather of a goose to pin the cape in place.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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182 relatively speaking. And the political institutions of Yokuts and
[614] Western Mono were perhaps as simple as any in California. Clans
[616] were lacking. The moiety, where it existed, regulated marriage and ceremonial participation. Patrilineal families dwelt together in permanent villages but owned no land other than an ill-defined tribal area.
[592] The household group was not large; normally its personnel included a married couple, their immature offspring, and a possible orphaned sister of either spouse, or an aged relative. A husband and father was head of his own household affairs but bowed to the opinion of elder male relatives when the entire lineage was involved. These families were entirely free to go about their daily pursuits of hunting, fishing, seed gathering, basket, pottery, and tool making, seeking of supernatural experience, gambling, or idling, without interference
182 from officials. There were none to interfere. The sense of right and
869 wrong, of duty to one's relatives and neighbors, was instilled in children as they grew up. Truthfulness, industry, a modest opinion of oneself, and above all, generosity, were regarded not so much as
[577] positive virtues as essential qualities. Informants today condemn those who are greedy, jealous, or egotistical. It was largely upon the personal character of individuals that the peace of a community depended.

692 Legal authority over the people at large was wielded by chiefs and
622 their henchmen, the winatums. The chief's power was expressed as
624 a general jurisdiction having a paternal-judiciary aspect. He made decisions on village or tribal affairs such as holding fandangos, or building a new sweat-house, he settled interfamily disputes, and granted permission for death punishments. His judgment operated in place of fixed laws. The winatums were the coordinating element in the interrelationship of the people and their chiefs: they were the universal joint in the social machinery. Their official activities were many, as executing orders from the chief, making announcements, carrying private and public messages between individuals and tribes, directing camp organization, and managing all phases of ceremonial activity. The presence or absence of the minor officials, subchiefs, and dance managers, made little difference in the powers of chiefs or the freedom of citizens. In other words, the chiefs, with their winatums as manipulating instruments, constituted the sole legal authority
671 in the political system of south central California.

We have spoken of the complete lack of formulated law in Yokuts and Western Mono society. This is scarcely overstating the case, for

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

a nook of the mountains. Doubtless they would eventually have seized all the streams emptying into Tulare Lake, but they seem to have become enervated by the malaria, and reduced to the same condition of sluggishness as the people whom they displaced.

At the time of the American advent, therefore, the Yokuts occupied the south bank of the Fresno; the San Joaquin, from Whisky Creek down to the mouth of the Fresno; King's River, from Mill Creek down to the mouth; the Kaweah, Tule River, and Deer Creek; the west shore of Tulare Lake, and the isolated mountain-nook at Fort Tejon.

Their tribal distribution was as follows: On the San Joaquin, from Whisky Creek down to Millerton, are the Chūk'-chan-si; farther down, the Pit'-ka-chi, now extinct. On King's River, going down stream, are the following bands, in their order: Tis-e'-chu, Chai-nim'-ai-ni, It-i'-cha, Wi'-chi-kik, Ta'-chi, No-toan'-ai-ti, the latter on the lake, the Tachi at Kingston. On Dry Creek are the Kas-so'-vo; in Squaw Valley the Chu-kai'-mi-na. On the Kaweah River, beginning in the mountains, are the Wik'-sach-i, Wik-chum'-ni (in the foot-hills), Kau-i'-a (on the edge of the plains), Yu'-kol (on the plains), Te'-lum-ni (two miles below Visalia), Chu'-nut (at the lake). On Tule River are the O-ching'-i-ta (at Painted Rock), Ai'-a-pai (at Soda Spring), Mai-ai'-u (on South Fork), Sa-wakh'-tu (on the main river), Ki-a-wet'-ni (at Porterville). At Fort Tejon are the Tin'-lin-neh (from *tin'-nilh*, "a hole"), so called on account of some singular depressions in the earth in that vicinity. A little further north, near Kern Lake, are the Po-hal'-lin-Tin'leh (squirrel-holes), so named on account of the great number of ground-squirrels living in that place.

In the Yokuts nation there appears to be more political solidarity, more capacity in the petty tribes of being grouped into large and coherent masses, than is common in the State. This is particularly true of those living on the plains, who display in their encampments a military precision and regularity which are remarkable. Every village consists of a single row of wigwams, conical or wedge-shaped, generally made of tule, and just enough hollowed out within so that the inmates may sleep with the head higher than the feet, all in perfect alignment, and with a continuous awning of brushwood stretching along in front. In one end-wigwam lives

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

361 the village captain; in the other, the shaman or *si-se'-ro* (Spanish, *hechizero*).
592 In the mountains there is some approach to this martial array, but it is universal on the plains.

621 But it is more especially in their actual organization, and in the
622 instances of great leaders who have arisen, that this quality is manifested. Every large natural division of territory possessing a certain homogeneity constitutes the domain of one tribe and one chief—for instance, a river-valley, from the snow-line down to the plains, or from the foot-hills to the
621 lake—though nowadays this system has been disturbed by the whites. In this domain every village has a captain, who stands to the central chief in
624 the relation of a governor to the President, and is generally distinguished from his subjects by his long hair. At certain annual meetings and other occasions each captain reports to his chief the general condition of his village as to morals, as to quarrels, as to the acorn-crop, etc. In return, the
621 chief delivers a long oration of advice and counsel; warns, instructs, and
622 admonishes his subalterns; and, if necessary, berates soundly any delinquent. Both the chiefship and the captaincy are hereditary, that is, if the son does not prove to be a fool. But either can appoint his successor as he likes. For instance, Santiago, captain of the Tachi, had two sons, Ka'-teh and Ku'-to-mats, of whom Kateh was the first-born, but he designated the other to succeed him, because, as Kateh ingenuously acknowledged, "he was the smartest".

622 Instances of this harmonious hierarchy of ranks exist yet in Chi-wi'-ni, who is chief over all the villages in Squaw Valley; in Wa-tu'-ga, who is chief of the three upper villages on King's River; and in Slōk'-nich, chief of the Chukchansi.

624 The captain has no substantial authority, even to appoint the time for a special mourning or a fandango; he must request the chief to do so in his behalf. But nowadays there are many villages which have broken away and become independent, and their captains exercise all the power the tribe will bear, which is small. In early days the chief sometimes wielded
622 considerable authority, as the following instances will evince:

Ten or fifteen years ago Pascual consolidated all the villages on King's River, except the one at the mouth, into a robust little kingdom;

10: Beals & Hester E-4, 5 (no date) 1958
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animal, not a grazing animal and few suitable shrubs and trees grow in the region. There were some herds of antelope, especially in the eastern portions, and some tule elk. Even rabbits were less numerous than in adjoining regions. In the most favorable sections burrows were periodically flooded while elsewhere feed was scanty.

The Tachi Yokuts were located north and west of Tulare Lake. Of the eight locatable Tachi settlements, six were on the sloughs near Tulare Lake or on the shores of the lake itself; two were on the dry plains west of the lake.[4] Each settlement consisted of one, and in most cases probably several, long wedgeshaped houses covered with tule mats and housing several families. Latta claims these sometimes reach the length of 300 feet but most writers consider this excessive.[5] Kroeber cites Gabriel Moraga who visited the Tachi in 1806 and records the range of some 60 to 800 persons for southern Yokuts villages.[6] Moraga's report is suspect but other data suggest that most Tachi villages contain several hundred people.[7]

The location of settlements was importantly influenced by the location and permanence of water. The lake shore itself offered difficulties, for the surrounding terrain is relatively flat and in some places a change of lake level of one foot would shift the lake margin as much as 4 miles.[8] According to Gifford and Schenck when the lake surface was 192 feet above sea-level, only 300 square miles was covered, but at its highest level of 220 feet, the area was 800 square miles. The highest level was unstable and villages located with reference to this might at many times have no access to water. The 500 square miles between the lower and the highest level, was marshly and "an area in which man could not have resided permanently."[9] Consequently, the most desirable sites were on permanent sloughs offering access to the lake but located on ground high enough to be out of flood water. Some of the Yokuts, possibly including the Tachi, when they could not find a sufficiently elevated house site would raise the floor by carrying in baskets of earth. In addition, the Tachi and

[4] GAYTON, 1948 map. 2; KROEBER, p. 484, plate 47; LATTA, p. 13.
[5] LATTA, p. 90.
[6] KROEBER, p. 491.
[7] GAYTON, 1948, p. 13.
[8] LATTA, p. 30.
[9] GIFFORD and SCHENCK, pp. 8-11 .

*161 the region and left a circumstantial account of his visit. Starting from Bubal, he approached the Telame area, reaching first the village of Gelecto, where ". . . encontraron no mas el cementerio: se habia destruido por las guerras. . . ." These wars apparently were raids and skirmishes in which refugees from the missions and [648] other Indian villages participated. From Gelecto the party went to Telamni ". . . al llegar alli los divisaron de Lihuauhilame el grande . . . done al dia anterior habian tenido una gran refriega cuyo resultado fue dar muerte a unos 8 hombres . . . ." The captain of the latter rancheria sent a messenger to Martinez with the report the place contained "como de 300 casados." Gelecto was one league from Lihuauhilame and since the latter village could be seen from Telame the distance between the two could not have been more than a league. Martinez then went six leagues south to Quihuama, before proceeding westward on the way home.

Lihuauhilame contained 300 married men, or heads of families. The aboriginal social family consisted of ● [592] at least five persons, and even after the disruption suffered from 1804 to 1816 must have amounted to four. The total population, according to this assumption, must have reached fully 1,200, with a probable pre-invasion value of at least 1,500. Martinez therefore gives us four sizable places: Gelecto (depopulated), Telame (minimum 800 according to Moraga and Cabot), Lihuauhilame (1,200), and Quihuama.

Subsequent visitors (e.g., Estudillo, 1819, and Rodriguez, 1828) mention Telame but give no data with respect to size nor do they specify any other rancherias in the immediate vicinity. For basic population data we are consequently forced to depend upon Cabot, Moraga, and Martinez.

In the discussion of Bubal mention was made of the attrition of population due to war and disease during the period following the first entry of the Spaniards in or about the year 1800. That these factors were very serious becomes even more evident from the accounts of the [648] Telame region. Martinez describes the total obliteration of Gelecto, which he ascribes to the "wars." Elsewhere [578] in his report he refers to much internecine fighting among villages and between natives and fugitives from the missions. Moreover, the Spanish accounts repeat ad nauseam the statement that this or that village was attacked or destroyed in the course of various expeditions, or that village after village was deserted by its inhabitants because of fear of the soldiers. It is highly probable that there is a great deal of lost history pertaining to the central valley during this period and that tremendous destruction was inflicted upon the native villages which was never recorded in the official documents.

*161 Hunger and disease were likewise rampant. Clear
165 indication of this condition is contained in the sentence
731 of Ortega, in 1815, with respect to Telame: ". . . encontrando esta grande rancheria toda desparramada por la mucha mortandad que havian tenido, y la much hambre que padecian . . ." With regard to the cause of the "mortality" it is clear that a part was due to the killing by the Spaniards and other Indians during the "wars," a part was due to famine, and very likely the remainder was due to disease. Although this factor is not specifi- *161 cally mentioned, the word "mortandad" was widely em- 164 ployed by the Spaniards and Mexicans to connote the 173 effects of an epidemic. Furthermore, the absence of disease would be more difficult to explain than its presence in view of the wide intercourse between the peoples of the southern valley and those of the coast at a time when the Indians of the missions were dying by thousands